NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Stranger problems are not found in the history of acy nation than appear in the history of the United States from 1856 to 1862. How did it me to pass that nearly half the territory within the States was held by a hostile ferce before the Nation had even liften a finger to maintain its authority? The Nation was not weak. Within sighty days from May 4, 1861, it raised and armed over 200,000 fighting men. A tenth of that force, raised in time and rightly used, would have the Rebellion impossible. Almost nov weaker nation would have stamped out the very beginning of insurrection. Yet Abraham Lincoln had at hand for the defence of Washington only 600 men when he took the oath of office. He had reached that city by ahurried and secret trip through Baltimore, where a Massachusetts regiment had to fight its way a month later, in order to reach the capital. Commissioners from States in rebellion sulted him before he had fairly grasped the reins, and he saw a National fort bombarded and captured without power to aid. By what blundering or treachery could the Government of a great nation have been so paralyzed?

The collapse of the Democratic party was hardly less strange than the geneals of the Rebellion. A great and powerful party, which had ruled the country for forty years excepting two short intervals, had destroyed the National Bank, outlived the disasters of 1837, conquered Mexico and added Texas, New-Mexico and California to the territory of the United States-an area about five times that of France-and had elected a President In 1856 by a plurality of 500,000 votes, the largest ever given at that time to any candidate, wa nevertheless utterly broken up and ruined in four years. By what blunder of leadership could such a wreck have been brought about ?

These questions invest the Presidential term James Buchanan with a mysterious and profound interest. Disasters did not come upon the country of which he was the Chief Executive, or upon the party of which he was the official head, because of any inexperience or indifference on his part. He was the most experienced statesman ever elected to the Presidency. His public life had begnn in 1814, and in forty-two years of almost uninterrupted service he had discharged with credit duties in the Legislature, in the lower use of Congress, in the Senate, as Secretary of State, Miaister to Russia and Minister to England. He had been trained by political life to cantion, by diplomacy to tact, and by many years of debate to a knowledge of public affairs and interests. Not even his worst enemy would have denied that Mr. Buchanan was sincerely and profoundly anxious for the peace and prosperity of the country and the success of his party. And yet it was in the hands of this experienced statesman that the Government became completely paralyzed by a gigantic Rebellion. It was under his experienced and previously successful leadership that his party was wrecked. These strange facts must ever give a peculiar interest to the study of the life and character of James Buchanan.

For this study Mr. George Ticknor Curtis has enjoyed extraordinary opportunities. To him was intrusted, by the executors under the will of Mr. Buchanan, such a mass of letters and documents, files, diaries and memoranda, as perhaps was never collected to shed light on the story of any other man. For Mr. Buchanan himself, it seems, had been an indefatigable autobiographer. He had a remarkable fondness for writing letters, and a passion for preserving what he had written. He had preserved a vast correspondence, public and social and domestic; he had cultivated the babts of recording conversations and events in memoranda, made while his memory was fresh; he had collected and saved documents and papers by the cart-load; he had prepared a biography of his early life; and after his Presidential term expired he devoted five years of leisure to the collection of syldence in defence of his course. With this remarkable collection of material Mr. Curtis also had valuable personal resources; long acquaintance with public men and events, scholarly attainments, training not only as a lawyer and writer, but, in his preparation of the Life of Webster, as a biographer, and a certain representative position with all friends of Mr. Buchanan, having been selected to complete the biograppy for which the ex-President had gathered such a store of materials. The two solid volumes of over 1,300 pages, which have lished by Harper & Brothers, bear witness not only to the industry of the author and the great zeal with which he has performed his tees, but to his keen appreciation of the relative value of materials at his command. They show a trained reasoning power applied with much care to the devetailing of evidence, and a very warm and high appreciation of the character and life that he was called upon to portray. The work will doubtless give great satisfaction to the friends of Mr. Buchanan, and it is undeniably a valuable contribution to the material available for the history of

the country. The view given of Mr. Buchanan's home life and private character is extremely interesting. We forget the "Old Public Functionary" and all his shortcomings as we read his affectionate letters, observe his tender and wise guidance of his niece note his generosity to friends and relatives, and see frequent proots of his rigid integrity and high sense of ho nor in business affairs. There was much to admire in the man, under the crust of official habits and political chicanery; much to arouse a genuine sympathy in the long and lonely life ever shadowed by the memory of one leved and lost in youth. It was to escape the suffering of a bereavement to which he hardly ever referred, and the sadness of a life without wife or child, that Mr. Buchanan gave himself so unreservedly to political contests, and his private letters, which are often charming in feeling and expression, show that he would have been a very different man had the affections been satisfied by a happy home life. His bearing to all, even to his antagohiste, was polished and courteous; possibly, to this ago, its tone may seem a shade insincere, as of one never quite enough in earnest to be hurt by antagonism to belief or purpose. It does not clearly appear how Mr. Buchauan accumulated the considerable fortune which he had before the collapse of Southern State bonds in 1861. A enrious statement given by Mr. Curtis shows that his income as a lawyer, from 1813 to 1829 inclusive, never exceeded \$7,915, the amount of his cash receipts in 1818, and dropped off to \$2,008 in 1828, averaging sbout \$4,000 a year during fifteen years of active practice. His political life could hardly have been source of much gain, but his savings seem to have been judiciously invesced. His indefatigable attention to public business, and his scrupulous refusal to permit purchases to be made from public funds even for furnishing the White House, illustrate cred-Itable traits of his character which Mr. Curtis brings

In the portayal of Mr. Buchanan's public life. however, Mr. Curtis has been unequal. There is enough and to spare about the opinions of the ex-President on constitutional questions and on slavery, but little to show the part taken by him during more than forty years of active life in re gard to the tariff and other economic questions. It voted about 500 pages to the period succeeding Mr. Buchanan's election to the Presidency, of which public information is already very full because the pace devoted to earlier periods of which much less is known as thereby curtailed. It would have been peculiarly instructive had we been enabled to trace in Mr. Buchanan's own letters and memoranda the growth of opinion in Pennsylvania on the tariff question, and the progress of the struggle between parties in the Senate and House on this and other topics. Where the author has not ferred condensation to public enlightenment, he as given exceedingly interesting glimpses of his story. The political struggles from 1820 to 1840, the personal characteristics of many actors therein have been mere outlines or ghosts of men to the students of later times, the fierce controversy nt the National Bank and its effects upon the

public prosperity, the Mexican war, its causes and the relation of leading men to it, the California settlement, and the Ore on and Clayton-Bulwer treaties, are all brought into clearer light by the letters and papers published.

Mr. Curtis seems to have a peculiar fondness for Mr. Buchanan's arguments on constitutional questions. These were often acute, but always narrow, as was natural in one whose extreme notions of strict construction tended to cramp the mind. On of the strongest of them, which was warmly praised by Mr. Webster, might be read with advantage by Mr. Randall and his associates. The payment of certain officials was resisted; Mr. Buchanau argued very forcibly that, inasmuch as they indisputably were legally appointed officials, Congress was under a moral obligation to appropriate the money for their salaries. The account given of Mr. Buchan-an's diplematic career shows the zeal of the biographer rather than the services of the diplomat; in negotiating the treaty with Russia Mr. Buchanan had success well-nigh assured at the outset by the strong desire of Count Nesselrode to thwart British influence, and his efforts to negotiate with Lord Clarendon were wholly unsuccessful. But his courtly and agreeable manners clearly helped to promote Irlendship between the United States and the nations to which he was accredited, and even his laughable embarrassment about his official attire and his appearance in the Queen's drawing-room "in the simple dress of an American citizen" with a dress sword to distinguish him from the waiters, were not without some effect. James Buchanan, a tall, finely formed, studious

and bright young man, was elected to the Legislature in 1814, being then twenty-three years of age, as a Federalist. But his first public address was in advocacy of a zealous prosecution of the war with Great Britain, which the Federalists strongly disapproved. He helped to raise troops, and to vote money for the defence of the country, was re-elected in 1815, distinguished himself in the defence of a Judge who had been impeached, and was elected to Congress in 1820. It does not appear that he started with any clearly defined political principles It was his misfortune that he gained his early political training in a time when men were divided by personal ambitions and likings rather than by convictions. To one who is not familian with the history of that time or who has known of it only as it appears through the softening mist of a reverent hero-worship, it is a sad disillusionment to read how completely small personalities and private greed and ambition then controlled the life of most public men. Leaders seemed to have no loftier aim than to lead successfully to the spoils. Followers had no other ideal of duty than to be effective Adams men or Jackson men or Clay men. Principles were the mere tools with which to carve out honor or office. Mr. Buchanan did not rise far above his early training. Not clear at the outset as to his party affiliations, he remained so far undecided in 1824 that his impartial liking for General Jackson and Mr. Clay, and a conversation in which that liking was expressed, led to the charge that he had sought to effect a corrupt bargain be tween the two. Though this charge was made by General Jackson himself, apparently under misapprehension, Mr. Buchanan remained one of his most zealcus supporters, and finally entered into the Bank controversy with great zeal. But he showed quite a faculty of being partly on both sides, particularly on the tariff question, and, like many men of that time, held instructions from constituents so far binding that he was ready to obey them without regard to his own convictions. He was not a reformer. One of his early efforts was a strong speech in which he employed all his powers of ridicule to defeat a bill to prevent interference in elections by Federal officers. The truth is that Mr. Buchanan, at this stage of his career, manifested little conception of politics except as a meaus of getting office. His biographer shewers on him most plentiful culogiums, but at times betrays a conception of political duty not much more exulted than that of Mr. Buchanan himself. Thus he says (vol. 1, p. 71) that the Jackson men could not have heartily favored a resolution to abolish superfluons offices and cut down excessive salaries, because being morally certain soon to come into power, they could have had no motive for snackling them selves with a legislative measure reducing the number of offices or the salaries of the officers." late as 1856, after his election as President, Mr. Buchanan wrote: "They say, and that, too, with considerable force, that if the officers under a preceding Democratic administration shall be continued by a succeeding administration of the same political character, this must necessarily destroy the party. This, perhaps, ought not to be so, but we cannet change human nature." Assuredly this letter does not give usexalted conceptions of Mr. Buchanan or his party. Yet from Mr. Curtis's oft-repeated phrases one would suppose that Mr. Buchanan fulfilled in ail respects his ideal of exalted statesmaphip. In fact statesmanship in the true sense was not

ossessed by Mr. Buchanan. He was at times a strong debater, at times an adroit party marager, at times an ambitious aspirant for office, but a statesman never. There was no wise prescience in the ex-President: none of that power which foresees the oak from the acorn. His pregnant mountains often brought forth mice, and his mice moun-"Negro suffrage and negro government," he predicts in a letter written in 1867, " will nearly destroy the production of the articles which have rendered both the Southern States and New-England so prosperous," but we all know that the vield of cotton has been larger since the abolition of slavery than it ever was before. After the Demoeratic party had split into warring fragments, and bardly nine months before the outoreak of the Civil War, Mr. Buchanan said in a speech at the White House, July 9, 1860, "The present issue is transitory, and will speedily pass away. In the nature of things it cannot continue. There is but one possible contingency that can endanger the Union. Should the time ever arrive when Northern agitation and fauaticism shall proceed so far as to render the domestic firesides of the South insecure. then, and not till then, will the Union be in Surely no man called a statesman ever more blindly misunderstood the events with which he had to deal. To the end he reasoned that there " could be no bleeding Kansas in the Territories," if slavery should be admitted into them all until the organization of States, and yet it was exactly this condition which had caused the fierce contest in Kansas, and it was plain that the same condition must necessarily cause frightful struggles in other Territories. In the application of constitutional principles to questions of public policy, Mr. Buchanan was not clear nor strong. He conceived that he and everybody else were bound to act in accordance with a mere obiter dictum of the Supreme Court, continually repeating that the Court had "gecided" that slaves could be taken and held in all the Territories, although the abless jurists of his own party maintained, as Mr. Curtis now does, that the Court did not properly decide that question at all. Moreover, had it done so, that decision would have had no binding force as to the political action of anybody. But this error, strange and grave as it was, Mr. Bucharan made the very coner stone of his Executive course and his political policy.

Such was the President, stripped of the glamour thrown over him, who was called upon to steer the ship of State through the breakers in 1857-1861. He was a mere politician, not very sagacious not very strong, too old to develop a decision of character or devotion to principle which even in younger days he had lacked but prone to a certain obstinacy in his prejudices and his constitutional notions His career had been somewhat disappointing Proposed for the Vice-Presidency as early as 1831, be bad gained some distinction by his service in Russia, and still more as a leader of the Jackson party in the Senate. But the anti-Bank movement which promised to be so popular, had been followed by great financial disasters. The Democratic party was overwhelmed by them in 1840, and when four years more brought it victory, Mr. Buchanan's continued service secured him only 29 votes for the Presidency, and Mr. Polk, a man of much less note, was peferred. As Secretary of State during the war with Mexico, Mr. Buchanan might naturally have expected that the glory of acqui-

sition of territory would have made his advance-

ment easy. But his party had enacted the tariff of 1846, contrary to all its pledges to Pennsylvania, and this insured its defeat. Mr. Buchanan's position as a Pennsylvanian, and yet as a member of the Administration that had brought forward the tariff of 1846, was untenable. He received only 55 votes in Convention and his party was beaten by Taylor. A third time he was a candidate in 1852, and received 103 votes, but after forty-eight ballots saw Mr. Pierce nominated.

Here we touch the secret of Mr. Buchanan's political history. It became a necessity for him to devote himself to some new issue, by means of which the tariff question could be pushed aside, and his position as a leader of his party could be restored. He could not go unreservedly with the majority or his party on the tariff without destroying himself in his own State. Mr. Buchanan thereupon became conspicuous as a pro-slavery Union-saver. From his early days, he had leaned strongly to the Southern side. One of his most elaborate speeches was delivered in 1836, in behalf of a bill to prohibit the sending of "incendiary publications" through the mails, and any "pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other printed or pictorial representation touching the subject of slavery," the circulation of which any State. Territory or District had seen fit to prohibit, was included as an incendiary publication. He had gone with the South in regard to Texas annexation and the Mexican war, He had been prominent in his own State in defeating the Wilmot proviso, and from that defeat sprang the Compromise measures of 1850, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the troubles in Kansas. Opposition to Abelitionism, and Unionsaving by concessions to the South, came naturally to him. It was easy for him to feel, as Mr. Curtis says, that the anti-slavery agitation was "an external and unjustifiable intermeddling with a matter that did not concern those who intermeddled." It became easy for him to make in the Os tend manifesto a strong and successful bid for Southern favor. Therein It was seriously declared that, if Spain should refuse to sell Caba, it might be the right and duty of the United States to wrest the island from her, as a means of defending the in stitution of slavery.

All this would have done little harm, if Mr. Buchanan, in his anxiety to secure an election to the Presidency, had not taught that a dissolution of the Union would follow and be justified by the. election of a Republican. It is essential to an un derstanding of his subsequent conduct that his language in 1856 on this subject should be remembered. In one letter, for example, he says that all other questions are of little importance " compared with the grand and appalling issue of Union or disunion," and that, should Fremout be elected, and the outlawry proclaimed by the Republican Convention at l'hiladelphia against fifteen Sontaera States" be ratified, "the consequence will be immediate and mevitable." The "outlawry" consisted in the nomination of candidates on a platform propesing the non-extension of slavery. In an other letter he says of some persons, " They are all for Fremont, and a dissolution of the Union." In another he asserts that he is in daily receipt of letters from the South which "say explicitly that the election of Fremont involves the dissolution of the Union, and that immdiately. . . . These evidences of public determination came first from the extreme Souta, but now the same calm and determined spirit appears to pervade Virginia." be it remembered, from a candidate for the Presi dency whose duty it would be, if elected, to uphold the laws against disunion in every form. This, moreover, not after the Dred Scott decision which he subsequently made a pretext for much accusa tion against the Northern people, but months be fore it was rendered. Is it conceivable that any rational public man could have been ignorant that he was doing much to bring about rebellion by such language ?

Mr. Buchanan went further. He fed the flame sectionalism at the South by his inaugural addressin which, as if aware of the schemes of the pro slavery propagandists, he clearly anticipated the ott decision. Wholly disregarding the accucumulated proof that the Lecompton party had carried the so-called election in Kansas only by the most shameless frauds, he urged the admission of the State under the Lecompton Constitution. His own chosen Governors and agents became disgusted at the measures used to set aside the will of the people, but he refused to hear their protests. He used official influence, argument and patronage, and permitted the use of money derived from various jobs, in order to defeat the will of the majority. It is natural that having joined those who fought Mr. Donglas to the death, Mr. Buchanan should have sought at a later period to throw the blame for all troubles in the party and the country upon yet with singular lack of reason, he ignored the fact that his own interpretation of the Dred Scott decision would have made the Missouri Compromise violence and fraud in Kansas, or had he resolutely crushed the first beginnings of rebellion at the South, he might not have averted all disaster, for the irrepressible conflict had come at last. But he would have kept his own reputation from stain, deserved the name of states man, and saved millions in treasure and many

precious lives for his country. The main object of Mr. Curtis has been to defend the course of Mr. Buchapan during the four months which followed the election of Mr. Lincoln. In his preface he maisis that great injustice has been done Mr. Buchapan as to the events of that trying time. and about 230 pages are devoted to them. Evidently, Mr. Curtis himself would consider his work a failure if it should not influence public opinion as to this part of Mr. Buchanan's career. But we caunot perceive that it warrants any essential modification of opinions hitherto entertained by intelligent and loyal men. Undoubtedly the array of facts will help to clear away some misuaderstandings Especial stress is laid on the alleged removal of arms to Southern arsenals by Secretary Floyd. most of the space given to this topic is wasted. The story told by The Mobile Advertiser during the war, and embalmed as history by Mr. Pollard, was long ago proved by the investigations of a Congressional committee, and it is known to intelligent persons that Mr. Floyd secured not many weapons of good quality for the Confederate service. In spite of the manifestations of rebel gratitude there is not much room to doubt that the misapprehension once prevalent was mainly due to a blunder by that prince of blunderers, General Scott. His controversy with Mr. Buchanan is rehearsed by Mr. Curtis at ludicrous length, but it affects no essential point in the history of the period. Floyd's conduct, be it more or less criminal, does not necessarily involve censure of Mr. Buchanan. He may not have been to blame, though he was deceived by his Secretary. Mr. Lincoln himself suffered more than once in a similar way. In that dark time, when no one knew who was friend or foe, it is related by Mr. Boynton that President Lincoln signed an order to place in the very post where all naval plans and movements would become known to him most speedily that same Captain Barron who had been sent to Pensacola by Mr. Toucey and had prevented the landing of troops to hold Fort Pickens. It is not charged by any one that Mr. Buchanan intentionally betrayed his country, or was knowingly used by its foes. But the elaborate defence by Mr. Curtis, in all essentials, is precisely that which Mr. Buchanan himself made public in 1866. The world has judged it and Mr. Curtis will hardly succeed in modifying that judgment in the

The essence of this defence is that Mr. Bucharan acted in a sincere desire to preserve the Union and to prevent the spread of secession; that, in his own words, he "acted for some time as a breakwater between the North and the South"; that an ex post facto judgment of the steps, then taken, in the light of all that was at that time concealed. is not just; that Mr. Buchanan strongly represented the danger to the Union in his message in December, 1860, and urged with great feeling the need of conciliatory measures. With the same earnest desire to save the Union, he declared against the pretended right of secession so emphatically that he was thenceforward socially deserted by all his old friends at the South, and became a solitary man -sad, disheartened, but unflinching. To the

same end he pointed out to Congress existing laws gave him no power of rebellion. for the suppression troops for powers which were never asked and granted. He took care to fortify himself with a detailed opinion by the Attorney-General as to the extent of his power, but Congress would give him no further authority. In repeated messages he besought Congress either to conciliate or to prepare for the suppression of rebellion, but Congress would do neither. Still he strove to hold back from secession as many States as he could, and did keep back more than half the South until Mr. Lincoln had been inaugurated. He was anxious and ready to succor Major Anderson in Fort Sumter, but nothing was done because Major Anderson did not report his need of aid until it was too late. He neverthe less deserved high honor for having placed the Government on the only safe and constitutional ground for resistance to rebellion, a position which Mr. Lincoln afterward held until the outbreak of actual war, and he thus saved the States from de struction of their autonomy in the clash of arms. When war came he was for the Union without compromise or hesitation, and by voice and pen, and liberally from the remains of his shattered fortune, he aided the Union cause though hunted in his old age with unmerited obloquy. One can hardly read the private letters written during the war, of which Mr. Curtis quotes many, without some sympathy for the lonely old man who was trusted neither by Unionist nor rebel, but who daily prayed to God for the success of the Union, and gave not with niggard hand to succor distress, while keeping back what he conceived to be a complete vindication of his course because its publication might embarrass the Government.

But falleyrand was right. There are blunders that are worse than crimes. Mr. Buchanan meant to save his country and his party. But, so far as in him lay, he wrecked both. The impartial pen of history has already recorded the fact that James Buchanan cost his country countless lives and uncold treasure, because he tried to save, not only his country, but his country, his party, and the system of slavery.

The root of his difficulty was that he had justified resistance in case of the election of a Republican President as early as 1856. In his inaugural address he had said that agitation of the question of slavery should be "suppressed by every Union-loving man," and predicted that the Dred Scott decision would "speedthe right of slavery in the Territories. Thence forward he seemed to hold any dissent from the dogma of the Supreme Court as a species of treason nore odious than any other. In a speech just before Mr. Lincoln's election he had said: "The people of the South can never abandon this great principle without self-degradation," and that if slave prop erty " be not so protected in the Territories, the holders of it are degraded before the world." What more could be have done to produce at the South what Mr. Curtis himself calls "an exaggerated feeling of the political importance of this supposed right," and "an uncontrollable apprehension of danger?" Yet be went still further. In his message of December, 1860, he held this astonishing language: "The Supreme Court has solemnly decided" that owners of slaves have a right to take them into the Territories, and yet a territorial legislature has undertaken " to annul the sacred rights of property"; States have passed laws to defeat the fugitive slave act, therefore "let them repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this be done, without un-necessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union." this were not enough, he declared in this same message that, if these constitutional rights should still be violated, "the injured States would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government

of the Union." Mr. Buchanan was a trained diplomat, skilled in the use of words. It is not possible to believe that he did not know the effect of such coals of fire upon the inflammable Southern temper. His extraordinary sayings can be reconciled with a love for the Union in one wav only. He fully believed that partial secession would bring the North to surrender. Nearly all the politicians of the South were with him in that belief. Hence he incessantly and passionately insisted upon measures of "conciliation," and in the same message of December, 1860, he proposed with all gravity a constitutional amendment. embracing (1) a recognition of the right of property in slaves; (2) a recognition of the duty to protec slaveholders in the exercise of that right in all the Territories, so long as they remain Territories; and (3) a declaration that all laws impairing or decan party; and it would make slavery National. If it be thought utterly incredible that any man could pull and yold. Had Mr. Buchanan honestly put down have expected the adoption of such an amendment by the Northern people, in their hour of triumph, and under threats of disunion, then for what conceivable reason did Mr. Buchanan again and again passionately appeal to Congress to pass this socalled "measure of conciliation"! To make the threats of distution more potent, Mr.

Ruchanan set forth in the same message that the President was entirely powerless to put down rebellion. Fortified with an opinion from Attorney-General Black, which a President who meant to resist rebellion at all would never have made public, he held that there were no Federal officers through whom laws could be enforced in South Carolina; that the army and navy could not be used in aid o civil authority where "no judicial authority exists to issue process"; and that " the Constitution has not delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission." It is not true that Mr. Buchanan at any time appealed to Congress for larger power; he only said: "Congress alone has power to decide whether the laws can be amended so as to carry out more effectually the objects of the Constitution." In his belief, it was not an object of the Constitution to coerce a State into submission, nor, he added, "if we possessed the power, would it be wise to exercise it. War would not only destroy the Union, but banish all hope of its peaceful reconstruction." Mr. Buchanan did appeal to Congress for one thing only-an abject surrender by the North. With his amendment in one hand, and a declaration that secession was irresistable in the other, Mr. Buchanan tried to save the Union. And Mr. Curtis seems amazed that he failed. This impartial biographer cannot understand how "measures of conciliation deemed essential in as honest and wise a judgment as any statesman ever formed" (Vol. 2, p. 337) should have been rejected. Elsewhere he calls the proposed amendment "entirely reasonable," then entirely reasonable that a people who had just elected a President should be forced by threats of disunion to surrender every idea for which they had contended ? The plain people of 1861 deemed it reasonable to answer: "We have elected a President Submit now, as we have done before. This country has been ruled by threats long enough. We have no terms to propose as the price of submission to the laws." Had Mr. Buchanan possessed a statesman's knowledge of the character of the American people, he would have known that no other answer was possible. Yet he persisted, and, as Mr. Curtis shows with startling clearness, sacrificed every opportunity of suppress ing rebellion in its earlier stages to the mad idea of conciliation" by a surrender of the victors to the vanquished.

1860, to March, 1861, it is the plea of Mr. Curtis that any use of force would have defeated pending measures of conciliation. These, Mr. Buchanan claimed in his message and afterward, offered the only hope of saving the Union. For this reason only, his biographer declares, Mr. Buchanan did not call troops or vessels from distant points, did not remove arms from defenceless arsenals, or garrison forts that could be held. or succor Fort Sumter while there was yet time, or land forces at Fort Pickens, or take any other steps to check the progress of rebellion. This is evidently true. Mr. Buchanan had but one idea in his mind. to save the Union with slavery nationalized by a surrender of the North. He tried no other way: sought no other end. That is the crime of which impartial history finds bim guilty, and the proof of

At every step in the gloomy path from November,

his guilt has never been arrayed more convincingly than by his biographer.

Mr. Curtis wastes much space, however, in efforts to prove that Mr. Buchsnan could not have done anything if he had tried. His book would have been stronger if he had rested the defence solely upon the claim that measures of force would have been politically inexpedient. Mr. Buchanan bad but five companies of soldiers, we are told. Why had he not brought thousands more from Texas where they were awaiting to be surrendered by Twiggs? Before the election the President had foreshadowed rebellion in case of Mr. Lincoln's election; why did he do nothing to prepare for it? Even his five companies, sent to five of the great forts, with orders to fire upon anybody beginning to throw up batteries against them, would have done some good. Had orders been given while Mr. Buchanan was writing his fatal message in November, the armed vessels, of which there were twelve steamers available before March 4, could have been placed in important harbors with orders to suppress rebellion just as Farragut did when he anchored off New-Or leans. Why was the navy yard at Norfolk left undefended, and the arsenal at Harper's Ferry! Had Mr. Buchanan used what force he had, or any part of it, the crime of which he was guilty might not have been laid at his door. His crime was that for four months he allowed rebels to prepare for war against the United States, to seize public property and buildings, forts and arms, and lifted ot a finger to prevent it.

Nor does Mr. Curtis help his client by the plea that Congress was in session, and was therefore responsible to provide for the emergency, but, as Mr. Buchanan has said, "abdicated its functions." The truth is that he never complained of any non action by Congress except that it would not pass his or some other measure of surrender. He hoped for no other action; wanted no other. He knew, though Mr. Curtis seems inclined to ignore the fact that there was a Democratic majority in the Senate to block any preparations for the suppression of repellion, until it was too late for effective measures. This Democratic majority continued until February 4, and even then, with Mr. Crittenden thinking only of "compromise" and opposing all "coer cion." the casting vote of Vice-President Breckin ridge gave the control to those who insisted upon the course urged by Mr. Buchanan. He and his supporters held the country by the throat; to the end, they offered no other alternative except surrender or disunion. Any effort to check rebellion or suppress resistance to the authority of the United States would have been "politically mexpedient" because it would have lessened the fear of disunion and the chance of "conciliation"; therefore Mr. Buchanan made no such effort. All this is made so clear in the letters and documents which Mr. Curtis presents that even his ingenious and elaborate com-

ments do not obscure the truth. Mr. Curtis has not avoided some blunders. Mere carelessness appears in some palpable errors of dates, as on page 284, Vol. 2, the convention that nominated Mr Lincoln is said to have met in 1856. The names of Senators composing the committee on Mr. Crittenden's compromise are not correctly stated, and it is a blunder to say that," all the five Republican members voted against it." A long defence of Secretary Floyd on pages 307 and 308, Vol. 2, is not so interesting or important that it should have been repeated verbatim on pages 411 and 412 of the same volume. Nor is the biographer always candid in his state ments. For example, it is plainly insuncere, in dis cussing the possibility of putting down armed resistance (Vol. 2. p. 503), to ask "How could a regiment, or an army of regiments, have been marched by the President into Georgia or Missis sippi to prevent the adoption of a secession ordinance ?" It is not candid to represent that Mojor Anderson's condition was unknown to the President until the very close of his term, when Secretary Holt testifies (Vol. 2, p. 499): "Major Anderson has regularly and frequently reported the progress of the bat teries being constructed around him." Nor is it quite fair substantially to suppress, in the account the Kansas troubles, the resistance by Governors Walker and made to the coarse of the President, the testinony showing fraud in the elections controlled by Missouri raiders, or the convincing arraignment of the President in the Yale College Memorial. In view of passages in private letters on page 155 Vol. 2, and elsewhere, one is moved to doubt whether Mr. Buchanan refrained so scrupulously as his biographer represents from efforts to secure his own nomination. But these are trifles compared with the persistent representation that Congress and Major Anderson were responsible for Mr. feating the fugitive slave law are null and void. Buchanan's failure to check the Rebellion in its This constitutional amendment would save the early stages. The claim that forcible measures would at any time bave inflamed the South and rendered "conciliation" impossible has far more force, and yet even this is met by the curious ad-

mission that Mr. Davis and other Southern Senators

labored to prevent any bloodshed, " which would

cause the other Cotion States to recoil from the

support of South Carolina in her assertion of

the right of secession." (Vol. 2, p. 424.)

It can bardly be doubted that a little

resolute resistance by the Government to the seiz-

ure of property and public buildings would have

caused such a recoil. But Mr. Davis and Mr. Bu-

Northern surrender had vanished. Nor can any

labored defence, bowever ingeniously constructed,

hide the vital fact that the President of the United

States, for the purpose of intimidating his political

opponents into a surrender of their convictions and

the fruits of their victory, allowed a rebellion to

gain the mastery throughout a large part of the

country. Upon him must ever rest the responsi-

bility for much of the suffering and sacrifice and

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